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MEMORANDUM

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TO SAC: HOUSTON [REDACTED] (S)  
FROM: [REDACTED] (S)  
SUBJECT: NEWS MEDIA ARTICLES  
RE SOUTH AFRICA

1/18/90

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ATTACHED AND TO BE CONSIDERED PART OF THE MEMORANDUM IS A COPY  
OF AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE JANUARY 18, 1990, EDITION OF THE  
"NEW YORK TIMES".

THE ARTICLE IS FOR INFORMATION.

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# Main Foes of Apartheid Appear Split

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

EUSAKA, Zambia, Jan. 17 — Leading figures in South Africa's black nationalist movement began a meeting here today amid signs that they are divided over ways to respond to the increased flexibility of the Pretoria Government under President F. W. de Klerk.

The African National Congress, oldest and most powerful of the groups that have struggled against white rule, opened a three-day meeting of its top leaders with a speech by Walter Sisulu, who was released four months ago after 26 years in a South African prison.

Mr. Sisulu, who is 77 years old, made it plain that he expected stiff resistance to the apparent readiness of the party's older leaders to contemplate negotiations over the country's future political structure with Mr. de Klerk's Government.

## Generational Differences

Mr. Sisulu, the party's secretary general when he was imprisoned in 1963, confronted a gathering here that reflected the fault lines that developed within the congress in the years that he and many of the organization's older leaders were in jail.

In addition to the divide between the older leaders and more impatient younger ones who have become prominent during their elders' years in prison, there are differences of perspective between congress leaders who have remained in South Africa, in or out of prison, and those who have spent much of their lives as exiles, and between those who are Communists and those who favor greater pragmatism in political and economic matters.

In the Zambian Government Conference Hall being used for the meeting, the seats reserved at the conference

table were dotted with the gray and balding heads of men in their 60's and 70's, most of them dressed in conservative business suits.

## Joyous Reception

But the rows reserved for congress officials behind, and the seats for ordinary members, were packed with hundreds of men and women from the "Soweto generation" — people now in their 20's, 30's and 40's, many dressed in jeans and open shirts, whose political radicalism was forged during the violent confrontations between blacks and police, some of the worst of them in the Johannesburg, satellite city of Soweto, in the 1970's and 1980's.

Mr. Sisulu and six other Congress leaders who were recently released from long prison terms received a joyous reception punctuated by choruses from ululating women, shouts of "Amandla!" meaning "Power!" and a singing of the melancholy anthem of African nationalism, "Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika."

But the loudest cheers came on the introduction of the man considered the top young Congress leader inside South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa. Mr. Ramaphosa, the 37-year-old mine workers' chief, is among those who has declared his wariness of any concession of the kind sought by Mr. de Klerk, involving an easing up on guerrilla warfare while the two sides seek to negotiate a new political system acceptable to whites and blacks.

## Trying to Ease Anxieties

In an address that was opened to reporters at the last moment, Mr. Sisulu appeared intent on allaying anxieties that have been stirred among congress militants by the discussions that Nelson Mandela, the last of the congress's senior leaders still in prison, has held in recent months with white officials, including Mr. de Klerk.

But while praising the congress's military wing, known as Spear of the Nation, which he said had forced the white Government to the brink of negotiations, Mr. Sisulu insisted that the congress should persist with the course set by Mr. Mandela, of sounding out the Government on its readiness to meet the congress's conditions for negotiations, which include a lifting of a ban on the congress and on other proscribed political groups.

On the major issue of guerrilla activity — already at its lowest level in years — Mr. Sisulu was elusive. He offered no reassurance to Mr. de Klerk, who has indicated that he might accept a "commitment to peace" from the congress in place of the explicit repudiation of violence that was previously sought by the Government as a precondition for talks.

But the elderly nationalist leader appeared nonetheless to be responding to some of the congress's younger leaders, including Chris Hani, deputy commander of the congress's military wing, who have said that now, with the Government beginning to bend, is the time to intensify guerrilla attacks, not to make concessions to Mr. de Klerk.

Mr. Sisulu reminded the meeting that the decision to establish a military

## The 'Soweto generation' pulls away from its elders.

force, in 1961, had been taken only because the leaders of the time saw "no other way" to press the black people's cause.

Now, he said, the de Klerk Government had arrived at "a crossroads" from which there could be no turning back.

"There is only one road, the road to a nonracial democratic South Africa," he said, and it was not weakness, but a sign of the congress's strength, that it had taken the initiative through Mr. Mandela's contacts with the Government. In so doing, he said, the congress had opened a "new page" in which political and military action could be blended to the same end.

Mr. Sisulu made no mention of rival groups, such as the recently revived Pan-Africanist Movement, which have condemned the congress for its readiness to explore the possibility of a negotiated settlement, and whose followers, at the recent Soweto meeting that established the Pan-Africanist Movement, rallied to the cry of "One settler, one bullet."

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# Mandela's release called a matter of time

By DAVID ZUCCHINO  
Knight-Ridder Newspapers

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — South Africa's justice minister made the government's most explicit statement yet Tuesday on freeing Nelson Mandela, saying, "It is no longer a question of whether he should be released, but when and under what circumstances."

Kobie Coetsee, in an interview with the newspaper of the ruling National Party, did not say when the jailed



Mandela

black nationalist would be freed. However, he told The Nationalist newspaper that Mandela's release was "high on the agenda."

Coetsee said Mandela might be asked to act as a "mediator" between the government and the outlawed African National Congress.

Mandela, 71, who was a senior ANC leader when he was jailed in 1962, has been meeting in prison with government ministers since 1986, according to his recently freed ANC colleague, Walter Sisulu.

"It could be expected that the government is considering Mr. Mandela for this role" of mediator, said Coetsee, who has met regularly with Mandela at his guarded home on a prison farm near Cape Town.

Sisulu, 77, has described Mandela as a "facilitator" trying to pave the way for negotiations between the

government and the ANC. However, Sisulu has stressed that Mandela remains a senior member of the ANC, subject to ANC authority, and thus not in a position to be used as a go-between.

Coetsee said the government decided to release Mandela as part of its "South Africa first" policy, and not because of international pressure such as sanctions and boycotts.

According to government sources, Mandela's release is to be discussed at a meeting today of government cabinet ministers. The meeting will help determine the tone and content of a major policy speech by President F.W. de Klerk to open the 1990 session of Parliament in Cape Town on Feb. 2.

In an interview Tuesday, a senior National Party member and confidant of de Klerk said the govern-

ment's current plan was for de Klerk to announce a date for Mandela's release in his speech. He said Mandela might actually be freed a week or two later, after Parliament had begun to act on reforms outlined by de Klerk.

The party member said the announcement of Mandela's release could be delayed if the government's strategy to remove obstacles to negotiations was not finalized by Feb. 2.

He said de Klerk and the cabinet were seeking ways to lift the 30-year ban on the ANC, to allow some exiled ANC leaders to return to South Africa, to release other political prisoners in addition to Mandela and to lift portions of the state of emergency in effect since June 1986.

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